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ABSTRACT

Black psychologists have indicated that new methods which are culturally aware, appropriate, and relevant are needed to deal with mental health problems in the Black community. In this study an attempt was made to determine if university student trainees (one Chicano, two White, eight Black) who had no prior experience could be trained to observe, assess, and intervene in the classroom environment using contingency management techniques. These Classroom Behavior Analysts (CBA's) were trained in a controlled environment and were then placed in either a Headstart class or an elementary school; in all cases the CBA and the target, problem-behavior child were of the same race. All five hypotheses were generally supported: (1) existing behavior procedures would have to be modified for cross-cultural use; (2) many teachers would alter their definitions of problem behavior when asked to operationally define it; (3) many behaviors labeled as problem by white teachers would be viewed as non-problem by Black CBA's; (4) Black teachers would be more successful in modifying Black Children's behavior than were their white counterparts; and (5) old children can act as their own mediator and thus effectively function to modify their own behavior if they so desire. (Author/SES)

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MODIFYING CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR: AN EXPERIMENT ULTILIZING BLACK 'ANALYSTS' WITH BLACK CHILDREN

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by

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I. INTRODUCTION

That mental health problems exist in the Black community is well established in the current psychological literature (see Clark, 1965; Grier and Cobbs, 1968; Jones and Jones, 1970; Pinkney, 1969; Pouissant and Atkinson, 1970; and White, 1970). However, it is also clear that psychology and psychologists have been unable to meet the mental health needs of Blacks and the Black community (Billingsley, 1970; Clark, 1965; Sager et al., 1971; Thomas, 1969; Wilson, 1969; and White, 1970). This being the situation, it is obvious that psychology must alter its course if it is to be successful in the Black community. Maruyama (1970) and Billingsley (1970) both argued that, to be effective, any social scientific discipline must utilize input and direction from members of the given culture or subculture being studied or "helped." Sattler (1970), in reviewing the literature on experimenter bias, found that white experimenters generally have a detrimental effect on the performance of Black subjects. The results of these studies indicate that, before any progress can be made, Blacks must begin researching, training, giving therapy to, and implementing mental health programs for the Black community.

The purpose of this project was to determine if one

specific approach to the training of "analysts" and to the delivery of a mental health service is feasible using Black trainees and placing them in the Black community. If the project was successful it would: (1) suggest an economical and rapid means of training competent people to work in a specific community setting and (2) generate hypothesis about further research strategies and additional therapeutic modifications for continued relevancy in the Black community.

II. DISCUSSION

In recent years, psychological literature has begun to devote much time, space, and energy to the study of Black people in the United States. Many of the studies have been comparative in nature. For example, Dreger and Miller (1968) reviewed the studies made between 1959 and 1965, comparing Blacks and whites on a variety of measures and situations including physical and motor development, educational attainment, family organization, intellectual functioning, temperament, mental illness and psychophysiological functions, generally finding that Blacks performed less adequately than whites on the variety of tasks. Shuey (1966) studied the measured intelligence of Blacks, using standardized tests, and found the mean IQ of Blacks to be some fifteen points below that of whites. These results, indicating that Blacks perform at a lower level than do whites, have often been interpreted as showing Blacks deficient in certain cognitive and intellectual spheres. However, these comparative studies did not consider the possibility that the race of E (white) might have a negative effect on the subjects (Black). In Sattler's (1970) review of the literature, it was found that white E's did tend to have a detrimental effect on the performance of Black subjects, that attitudes towards

Blacks are enhanced by Black E's, and that Black clients prefer Black therapists. Maruyama (1970) further argued that researchers from outside a given culture may produce results which are consistent with the theories of the out-culture (as relates to the culture being studied), but which are irrelevant or incorrect from the point of view of the culture being studied. To avoid this problem, Maruyama suggested that inculture researchers must be used to conceptualize and analyze their culture. Another plausible explanation of the differences between Whites and Blacks is that, because Whites are the criterion group on whom the tests were standardized and for whom they were developed, they should perform better on the tasks. Further, the tests tend to ignore subcultural differences (and strengths) of the Black community. Billingsley (1970) wrote that social science is doing harm to Black people by continually doing research reflecting prejudice, ignorance, and arrogance. In studying Blacks, social science (including psychology) ignores white racism, ignores the strengths of the Black community, and ignores the presence of a Black subculture. In another paper, Billingsley (1968) said that most Whites, in studying Blacks, do not understand Blacks; they do not consider Black historical development in the U.S.A.; they ignore the caste-like qualities of the U.S.A. stratification system and the social classes and economic systems which keep Blacks in

an oppressed position. Jones and Jones (1970) wrote that the white middle class knows Blacks superficially and is unable to accurately perceive and comprehend a Black experience. White (1970) said that Whites do not know Blacks, partly due to a different frame of references. He argued that Black psychologists should ignore what white psychologists are saying and begin instead to develop theories to account for the strengths of Black children.

Other studies in the psychological literature deal with Black psychopathology and treatment programs. Pinkney (1969) said the statistics on the mental health of Black people are insufficient and contradictory, but he acknowledged that Blacks suffer a disproportionately high rate of serious mental illness. Baughman's (1971) review indicated that general paresis, alcoholic psychosis, schizophrenia and manic-depressive psychosis are more prevalent among Blacks. Grier and Cobbs (1968) found depression and paranoia to be common in the Black community, but Prange and Vitals (1962) found depression to be uncommon.

Hollingshead and Redlich (1958) found a relationship between social class and the type of treatment disturbed people receive: Lower social classes receive what they call "physical" treatment (i.e., electroshock and drugs) while middle- and upper-class individuals receive "verbal" treatment (i.e., individual psychoanalysis and

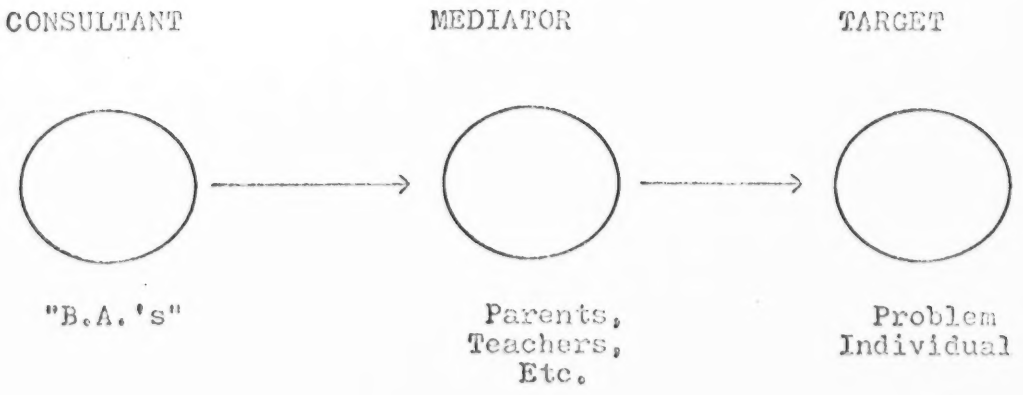
group therapy). Baughman argued that, since Blacks do not have backgrounds which prepare them for "verbal" treatments, the treatments would fail. Talking therapies were developed with disturbed Whites who generally were well educated with "good" verbal assets. Sager et al. (1971) questioned if any developed therapy is meeting the needs of the Black community. They said that workable methods for treatment and prevention are needed; Blacks tend to seek therapy only as a last resort; and that often behavior labeled pathological by the therapist is seen as acceptable and desired behavior by the family. Clark's work (1965) also indicated that most treatment facilities are inadequate and that they have failed. New methods are needed.

One possible alternative is to train Black adults (students, poverty workers, etc.) in the minimal skills needed to work with Black clients in their communities. These people would be familiar with the subculture and the community, following Maruyama's suggestion for inculture researchers and utilizing Sattler's finding that Black E's get more favorable results from Black subjects. Tharp and Wetzel (1969) demonstrated that inexperienced "analysts" can be trained rapidly to use behavior therapy techniques to modify the behaviors of children in a variety of settings. Basically, their model involves Behavior Analysts (BA's), using a triadic model and learning the skills required to

place the child's (target's) behavior on a contingency which an adult parent, teacher, etc., (called the mediator) can manage. Tharp and Wetzel (1969, p. 2) defined contingency management as "the rearrangement of environmental rewards and punishments which strengthen or weaken specified behaviors."

Bijou et al. (1969) discussed a methodology designed for the experimental observation and study of children in their "natural" settings. (Natural settings are defined as those physical settings which are already a part of the child's environment. These settings might include a specific part of the home, the school, the playground, etc., and involve the behaviors of important people in the given setting--i.e., parents, teachers, siblings, etc.)

If these skills could be taught to Black community workers in a short period of time (six to eight weeks), a reliable group of people who know the community and the culture would be available in the community to provide much needed intervention services. Such a program may thus meet many of the inadequacies described.



A Triadic Model for Behavior Modification in the Natural Environment (from Tharp and Wetzel, 1969)

Diagram I.

III. METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Trainees

Eleven Black students were initially selected during Spring, 1971, to participate in the California State University, Long Beach, Community Psychology Clinic's training program. This entailed their enrolling in a two-semester, six unit (total) psychology course (i.e., Psychology 476E Counseling the Minority Community), to begin Fall, 1971. The students were required to complete an application and submit to an interview by the Clinic staff. Selection was subjective--trainees were admitted who impressed the Clinic staff through their verbalized interest and willingness to get involved. (E was not part of the original selection procedure.) The original trainees included four women (one graduate student and three sophomores) and seven men (two graduate students, three juniors, and two freshmen). Three of the trainees were psychology majors; the others included one history major, one criminology major, one from social welfare, and five undeclared majors. Several were recruited through the Black Studies Department on campus.

At the completion of the Fall semester, four trainees dropped from the project and were replaced. The students who dropped had found themselves unable to put

forth the time needed in the community: all four were working at least twenty hours, had family obligations, and were having scholastic problems. The replacement trainees included one Black, two Whites, and one Chicano, all senior level psychology majors. The training procedure was repeated for the replacement trainees. The remaining CBA's continued working with their cases.

Community Population

The community population with whom the trainees worked were children enrolled in Project Head Start or one of three participating elementary schools located in the Black community. The children were chosen by their teachers to participate in the project. The project was especially interested in Black children who had Black teachers and appeared to be experiencing adjustment problems in the school environment.

The program was explained to all the teachers and their supervisors prior to accepting any children into the project. They were told that Black college trainees from the Community Psychology Clinic would be available to make observations and assessments and to formulate plans of interventions for any child they (the teachers) indicated was a problem in the classroom. It was emphasized that the project was not necessarily looking for the aggressive acting-out child; that all children referred would be

observed; that a written report would be made to the referring teacher; that not all children referred would become part of the project. An attempt would be made to place those children not accepted into the project with other health agencies, including children who appeared to have more serious mental health problems (retardation, etc.). This study confined itself to those Black children who manifested mild behavioral problems in the classroom, identified in terms of poor academic performance, acting-out aggressive behaviors, or withdrawal.

The teachers were told that, although they would have several contacts weekly with the trainee (Classroom Behavior Analyst or CBA), they were to contact E if problems developed. E's clinic, department, office and home telephone numbers were given to each teacher. The method which the trainees would use was explained and discussed. It was emphasized that, with many of the students, the trainee might wish to visit the home and observe the child there. It was recognized that some parents would not want the trainee to observe in the home, and that these wishes would be respected.

Training Procedure

Training began in September, 1971 (Fall semester). The students met twice weekly for three to five hours until training was completed. At the first meeting an overview of

the project was presented, including training procedures, purposes, amount of time they were expected to give, and required reading material (the primary source was Tharp and Wetzel's Behavior Modification in Natural Environment). Tharp and Wetzel was read, discussed, and analyzed. Bijou et al.'s (1969) discussion of single subject design followed in the fourth week. At this point all the trainees made six thirty-minute behavioral observations on campus, each of which was later discussed with the group. Role-playing was then introduced in an effort to provide an opportunity for each CBA to develop a behavior code and to check the reliability of the code. The CBA's observed, through a two-way mirror, and recorded E's "counseling" another member of the clinic staff on three separate occasions. Each CBA developed his own code designed to check specific behaviors (i.e., the incidence of "muffled verbal communication" as defined by counselor's placing hands, fingers, objects, etc., into, or in area of, mouth while talking, and the incidence of "eye avoidance" behavior as defined by counselor's not looking at "counselee" while either is talking). Each recorded observation was randomly compared with two others until every CBA had a minimum reliability of .80. At this point, after seven weeks, the trainees were ready to begin observing the children.

During the third week of training, E had contacted the local Head Start Program and the participating elementary schools located in the Black community in an effort to get children to participate. The purposes and procedures were first explained to administration and then to teachers (fourth and fifth weeks). Care was taken to point out that only children the teachers referred would be observed, and that the teachers would be advised periodically of the progress being made. E also explained that any child the teacher felt presented a behavioral problem would be observed. Teachers who had children who might benefit from the program were asked to respond in writing, describing the behavior problem. They were advised that a trainee would contact them within two weeks.

Intervention Operations

During the sixth week, eight teachers indicated they had at least one child they wanted observed. A total of fourteen children was referred, so that each CBA had at least one subject for observation.

The trainee's first task was to call the teacher for an appointment to meet with her at the school to discuss the child. At this first meeting, the trainee was to: introduce himself; review the project with the teacher; ask for additional information about the child, including a description of the problem behavior; inform her when he

would return to observe; familiarize himself with the school environment and the teacher's daily schedule. The CBA also asked the teacher for a description of behavior considered "appropriate" which could be emitted in place of undesired behavior. The success of intervention would be based on the emission of the desired behavior and the reduction of the inappropriate behaviors.

The CBA observed the child three times weekly, in observation periods ranging from forty-five to sixty minutes, spread throughout the school day, until the CBA developed a reliable behavior code which the teacher indicated was reflecting the problem behavior. At this time, the CBA began to collect baserate data and started to devise a plan for intervention. The CBA's turned in a weekly log to E indicating exactly what they were doing. This log included the time consumed in each contact with the target, the teacher, or the target's parents; all notes taken during these contacts (including those using the behavioral code); and an on-going statement of the CBA's assessment and intervention plans. These notes became part of the file in E's office on each CBA and on each target.

After implementation of the intervention program, the CBA's continued collecting data, using their codes.

When the behavior was changed in the desired direction, the CBA began to assess another child's behavior. It was expected that each CBA would assess, intervene, and follow-up a minimun of three cases.

Evaluation of Results

Evaluation had two inter-related components: (1) to determine if the CBA's were adequately trained to provide intervention services, and (2) to determine if the intervention services were successful. To determine if the CBA's were trained to the extent they could provide intervention services, they were evaluated prior to receiving a placement in the community. This was determined by E through examining each CBA's work to date (i.e., knowledge of Tharp and Wetzel, Bijou, written behavior observations taken on campus, and demonstrated ability to observe, assess, and code children's behavior in a controlled setting using the clinic's facilities). It was assumed that if the CBA's were satisfactorily trained in this sphere, they would be able to successfully modify the behavior of the children with whom they would be working. To determine if this second aspect of the project was successful, E relied on the teacher's reports of the child's behavior, the parent's reports of same (when appropriate) and the recorded observations, including cumulative graphs, of the child's

behavior. Because the teacher had to be specific in his discussion of the problem behavior and state, prior to assessment, what the desired behavior was, evaluation could be rather simple. E compared the amount of undesired behavior emitted during baseline and during intervention (the first experimental period). Training of the CBA's was judged successful if they were able to modify the behavior of the children in the desired direction.

Hypothesis Concerning Modification for Cross-cultural Application

It was hypothesized that the basic procedures as presented by Tharp and Wetzel and Bijou et al. would have to be modified somewhat if they were to be relevant and applicable for cross-cultural studies. Further, the anticipated direction of these modifications was based upon the writer's knowledge of the community in question and upon his knowledge of the psychological procedures being utilized, rather than upon any hard and fast data in the literature.

First, it was anticipated that some of the terminology appearing in Tharp and Wetzel and in Bijou et al. would have to be modified in order for the trainees to understand the procedure. For example, terms such as "contingency management," "mediator," "target," and "behavior analyst" (Tharp and Wetzel), "antecedent event" and "consequent social event" (Bijou et al.), are somewhat

confusing and tend to reflect "stylistic devices" common to "educated people" (Labov, 1969, p. 18) but which might confuse the trainee. It was important that the trainee understand the task and utilize his training rather than converse in "learning" language.

Second, it was anticipated that many teachers, after referring a child to the program and being asked to operationally define the problem behavior (i.e., what it is, its frequency, etc.) would find that the problem behavior was virtually non-existent or they would change what they considered problem behavior. That is, the teachers could become confused after attempting to define the behavior, discussing first one behavior, then another. If this should occur, future training procedures would have to include a "teacher-flexibility-component."

Third, many of the problem behaviors, as defined by the teachers, might be defined as non-problem areas by the Black trainees, thus creating intervention conflicts with the trainees. For example, the trainee might view the target behavior as coping behavior rather than problem behavior, this coping behavior being very useful and adaptive in the child's community, but very upsetting to the teacher. Obviously, the teachers would want to be made aware of this and develop strategies to modify their own behaviors rather than the behaviors of the children. It

would be of interest to determine:

1. if the problem behavior also occurred at home (was it situation specific), and
2. assuming it did occur at home, if the parents considered the behavior a problem.

Fourth, to the extent possible, the project would involve Black trainees observing Black children who have Black teachers. However, in view of the low number of Black teachers, many of the referral sources would be white teachers. It was anticipated that Black teachers would be more successful in modifying the behavior of the Black students and maintaining the change in the desired direction.

Finally, it was anticipated that the elementary school children involved in the project could effectively act as their own mediators (they would be aware of the so-called problem behaviors), thus modifying their own behaviors in the desired direction--if they so chose. It was further anticipated that the Black trainee would be able to "motivate" the child to change his behavior. Thus, a "self-modifying" training component would have to be devised.

IV. RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

The first semester was viewed as a pilot period because of CBA turnover at semester break, training problems, time consumed in getting subjects, and explaining the program to teachers, principals, and parents. None of the results (or problems) are reported in this paper. Those original CBA's who remained with the project began collecting data early in the second semester, and all seven had at least three cases. However, the needs of the community clinic had changed by this time, and several of the cases were seen only at the clinic. These clinic cases were all of a family nature and were assigned to E's case-load (at his request) because they were Black families. As E was primarily concerned with classroom consultation, assessment, and intervention techniques, none of these cases are reported.

The four replacement CBA's had at least two cases (the total including several clinic cases), and each was assigned to a community case prior to the Easter vacation.

The case load was purposely kept small to enable the CBA to do a thorough job on each case; for each CBA an intervention plan had to be operating successfully before he was permitted to begin a new case. This insured that the CBA would attend to the current case and would not be overwhelmed by a large, half-completed caseload.

To simplify data analysis, results were organized according to race of the teacher. Regardless of the teacher's race, an attempt was made to pair CBA's and S's of the same race.

While certain trends were very definitely present, no attempt to generalize outside of the population used was made. The small sampling size prohibited this. The trends present were:

1. Few teachers referred any child who was not acting out aggressively (either verbally or physically) in the classroom. The exceptions were three children, two of whom were from Headstart. Perhaps the aggressive child represented the most severe problem for the teacher, other problems being ignored until the aggressive child was "controlled." Thus, the possibility must be considered that a project might be implemented aimed exclusively for the aggressive child.

2. Many of the teachers (twelve of fifteen) had problems defining problem behaviors operationally, and seven teachers altered their program during intervention. This might have been avoided through a more rigorous teacher-training dimension which included each teacher's signing a contract with E and the CBA (and perhaps the principal), setting forth the limits and responsibilities of all involved. Obviously, the teacher's cooperation, input and involvement would be essential to the success of a project such as this.

3. The younger CBA's (freshmen, sophomores, and juniors) experienced more problems than the more advanced CBA's. All four who left at semester were lower division undergraduates. It appeared that the older student was better able to budget his time and effort. Thus, in the future only seniors and graduate students should be permitted to take this course.

Another possibility to insure that the CBA's remained with the project through the entire school year would be to devise a more adequate screening device and to withhold any grade until the course was fully completed. It would have been better for E to begin with just the seven CBA's who stayed rather than wasting time and energies with those who had to drop. E acknowledged that there are too many minority students on campus who wish to get involved meaningfully in their community to allow those who are only half-serious to take up valuable space.

Interestingly, psychology majors did no better (or no worse) than any other discipline. Also, because all the CBA's were full-time students, because several (ten) were working outside jobs, and because many (five) were married with other responsibilities, it was important to move slowly through the cases. E felt it better to complete one case prior to beginning another one. While this limited the number of cases each CBA received, the quality

of work was consistently at a high level. It would be of interest to use the same type of approach with community workers who would be able to devote forty hours a week to the effort, and this possibility has been discussed with the local anti-poverty personnel. While budgetary problems exist, it is possible that E will receive several community workers in the future.

4. E was called by a mediator on three occasions, and this was only after the mediator (T) was unable to contact the CBA. All three calls were attempts to postpone CBA visits as T was taking the class on a field trip. This would seem to indicate that the CBA's had done a good job in establishing communication with the mediator.

5. Because of the deliberate-ness of the CBA's and their small case load, care was taken in selecting any case for the project. All the children who were observed by a CBA were accepted into the program. Therefore, there was no need to observe other children, to write reports on them, or to make outside referrals. Any future project will incorporate this possibility of outside referrals, as it is reasonable to assume that referrals will have to be made.

6. The needs of the campus clinic were not anticipated, and E was committed to taking any minority families who sought help. Future projects would make allowances for

clinic cases, and CBA training would be expanded to include contingency management within the minority family unit. E is currently exploring the possibility and the utility of self-monitoring techniques with this population.

7. E assumed a racial experimenter effect (see Sattler, 1970) and no attempt was made to prove or to disprove it. One of Sattler's findings was that Black clients tended to prefer Black therapists. That two Black S's, who had white T's sought out a Black aide seemed to be analogous to Sattler's findings andappeared to substantiate it. S, in one case, which involved a Black male T, also sought out a Black aide. This particular class was set up for team teaching and the other members of the team were white. T was male while the aide and S were both female. Thus, it is possible that a combined sex-race dimension was present.

Also, concerning race, the behavior of a significant number of white teachers (six of nine) was viewed as negative or uncooperative towards the project. Four of these six teachers had referred Black S's. "Uncooperative" was defined as altering the teaching method during intervention, not following through with intervention, or terminating a case prior to completion of intervention. Three other white teachers withdrew after one conversation with a Black CBA, and all verbalized feelings about "militant Blacks." One Black T

was viewed as uncooperative. However, she did permit the completion of the intervention plan. This finding was rather disturbing in view of the large number of white teachers working in Central City Schools. As stated above, while no attempts at generalization have been made, more research is needed on this variable. Care must be taken not to condemn these teachers, as little was know about them. It would be worthwhile to det some background demographic data about all the teachers, i.e., age, length of teaching experience, number of years at the present school and at the given grade level, present address (were they from the school's community), their feelings about the present assignment, and a definition of "militant Black." It was also recognized that this finding might be due to the methods, the CBA's involoved, E, or other personality variables. Regardless, a racial difference was definitely present, and this fact indicates that a means must be developed to elicit the understanding and cooperation of white teachers if they are to continue teaching Black children.

8. In seven addtional cases, either the child moved, the parents indicated they did not want their child observed, the CBA did not keep appointments, or the teacher withdrew the child's name after talking with the CBA. In the last instance, three teachers expressed concern about

a "militant Black male" observing in their class. None of the teachers would elaborate about their feelings, and no further attempt was made to talk them into participation.

All seven of these "non-cases" took place early in the project and no data was collected on any of them.

Finally, both the CBA's and the T's were asked to judge if they thought their cases were successful. Eleven of fifteen T's (or mediators) indicated that the project was successful; one said it was not; and three said it was questionable. Those cases rated questionable were difficult to judge. Case #3 ended before intervention began; #4 was terminated by T when the problem behavior was not observed; and, in #9, T did not begin the intervention plan. There was no racial difference in these ratings. The CBA's wrote that nine cases were successful; five were not; one was questionable. (See Table I.) Again, there was no significant racial difference. T's rated case #12 as failure and cases 3, 4, and 9 questionable. CBA's rated #'s 4, 6, 8, 9, and 12 as failure and #3 questionable. Seemingly, the CBA's had higher standards for success than T's. However, the CBA's were not in the classroom as much as T's, and they were not responsible for the other children; thus they could afford to have higher standards.

E judged all of the eighteen cases, except #4, as successful. In all the other cases, either the behavior was

TABLE 1.--A comparison of the T's, the CBA's, and E's independent and subjective ratings of each case in terms of judged success, failure, or questionable results.

Case	Success	Failure	Questionable
1	CBA, T, E		
2	CBA, T, E		
3	E		T, CBA
4		CBA	T, E
5	CBA, T, E		
6	T, E	CBA	
7	CBA, T, E		
8	T, E	CBA	
9	E	CBA	T
10	CBA, T, E		
11	CBA, T, E		
12	E	T, CBA	
13	CBA, T, E		
14	CBA, T, E		
15	CBA, T, E		

changed in the desired direction or the CBA demonstrated that he was able to devise a sound plan for intervention.

9. Finally, the five hypotheses were all substantiated, to varying extents. First, while some of the terminology appearing in Thorp and Wetzel and Bijou had to modified, it was not the problem anticipated. While few of the CBA's conversed in class with this "learning language" or wrote their reports in it, all of them passed their written and oral examinations of these sources. All demonstrated that they knew the priciples and the method. Second, six teachers, upon being asked to operationally define the problem behavior, either found it to be nonexistent or they changed what they had considered problem behavior to be. As mentioned previously, a large number of T's were unable to operationally define the behavior. This finding would suggest that the teachers may need more help with their classroom definitions (perhaps including goals and objectives) and that a "teacher-flexibility-component" will have to be included in future CBA training. CBA's will have to learn to help the T with definitions. Third, five of the CBA's (all Black, three males) indicated that white T's were attempting to extinguish behaviors which the CBA did not feel were problems. All involved aggression which the CBA indicated was both acceptalbe and needed for "survival." None of these comments were prompted be E. The data did not indicat if the behavior also occured at home or if it was a problem. Additional research is needed to answer this question. Fourth, in terms of cooperation, completion of

the intervention plan, and success of the plan, Black T's had more favorable results with Black S's. Because none of the Black T's referred white S's, a cross-racial comparison was not possible. Fifth, data from four cases suggested that S's are aware of their behavior, could modify their behavior, and would change the behavior if motivated. This finding has many ramifications for future clinic work. I anticipates more research using "self-modification" techniques with families coming to the clinic.

It was noted that the overall racial difference, between the Black and white CBA's and between the Black and white T's, was not significant. All teachers referred similar types of problems (aggression) and the CBA's plans for intervention were much the same. Thus, the method seems to be sound cross-culturally. The problems experienced with the white teachers (i.e., changing intervention strategies, dropping out of the project, expressed concern with "militants") might be attributed to their lack of knowledge, experience or sensitivity in dealing with Black social scientists. However, this seemed not to be a fault of the model per se. Tharp and Wetzel (op. cit.) indicated that reinforcers for teachers are required. The mediator must be reinforced for managing the target's behavior. Perhaps problems with the white teachers might have been reduced by more positive CBA reinforcement.

Another possible explanation for the lack of racial

differences was that institutions such as schools make for similar types of problems and solutions. In this case, the school did not possess the sensitivity to relate to Black subculture. All children in the school environment were treated the same and no allowance was made for cultural differences. Further, because the school was not sensitive to the cultural needs of minority children, it dealt with them in the same way it dealt with majority children, and it used the same criteria. Thus, the problems with which the school was in tune were problems of majority children, and the institution tended to react to all children from this vantage point. If this is true, it seems reasonable that schools will continue to refer certain types of problems and accept certain types of solutions which do not reflect cultural differences. Obviously, more research is needed in this area.

Many of the findings of this project were similar to those of Tharp and Wetzel (op. cit.). These include: teacher resistances, mediator's not liking the model, CBA's expressing to E disapproval of several teacher referrals, CBA's relying on personal rapport with T rather than other forms of reinforcement, the overall success of the methodology with some failures, similar intervention plans, and similar mediator criteria for success. The results indicated that the Tharp-Wetzel methodology is appropriate

cross-culturally. Even with those cases judged as failure, the model was sound. The failures resulted from inappropriate or misuse of the model. In short, a small number of community students was successfully trained to observe, to assess and to intervene in a classroom setting using the methodology.

In closing, it is imperative to understand that the study was not designed to systematically test Black-White differences, but rather to assess the appropriateness of behavior modification in the natural Black environment. Thus, the inferred racial issues can only be viewed as hypotheses. While great similarities between Tharp and Wetzel's white program and this Black program have been discovered, this should not cause us to abandon the inquiry into significant differences in necessary strategies for delivery of helping services in the Black community. Several interesting hypotheses emerged and were discussed. There can be no doubt that clear differences exist between white and Black behaviors, attitudes, and styles. But, which ones make a difference in delivery of services? Does the white school structure mask the subtleties of Black experience? In what institutions are these differences important--only those at the cultural interface? Only those which are exclusively Black? How might one isolate and identify these behaviors? If the differences can be

identified, can non-Black social scientists be taught the significance of the behaviors? Might they be trained to understand and to appreciate so that they might be effective social scientists?

The present study can not only suggest these questions, but it can also alert us to the importance of answering them.

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